

MODERN
OBSERVATIONS
ON
ANTIEN'T HISTORY.

Translated from the *Italian*.

CHAPTER THE THIRD.

Felicitas est Fortuna adiutrix Consiliorum bonorum,
quibus qui non utitur fœlix nullo pacto esse potest.
Ergo in perditis impiisque Consiliis quibus Cæsar usus
erat, nulla potuit esse Felicitas; feliciorque meo
Judicio Camillus exulans, quam temporibus iisdem
Manlius, etiamsi, id quod cupierat, regnare potuisset.

CICERO, *ad Nepotem*.

The SECOND EDITION.

D U B L I N :

Printed in the Year MDCC LVI.

In the Press, and speedily will be published,

R E M A R K S

ON THE

First and Second CHAPTER

Of a late

W O R K,

INTITLED,

**‘ Modern OBSERVATIONS on
‘ ANTIEN T HISTORY.’**

07-2394

MODERN
OBSERVATIONS
ON
ANTIEN^t HISTORY.

CHAPTER THE THIRD.

Of PUBLIC SPIRIT.

PAUSANIAS, who, in his Account of those Times, is undoubtedly more impartial, and better informed than *Diodorus* or any other Historian, divides the Parties at *Athens*, for some Time before these Revolutions, into the natural and factitious Interests. *Nicias*, the Leader of the former, is described, by all Hands, as a Man of uncommon Character; by Nature he was inclined more to the Enjoyment of private, than the Business of public, Life; he loved Agriculture and rural Improvement, and was never so happy as in the *Attic* Elegance of Retirement; but a Number of rare Qualities, which broke out in his early Life, denied him more than occasional Tastes of his favourite Pleasure,

by calling on his Country, for its own Sake, to force him from the Shade, and place him in a Capacity of being as useful as he was good. His Demeanor here was allowed to exceed the most sanguine Wishes; never was any Man so much the same in every Light; the Simplicity of Manners, which dignified him at his Farm, followed him into Station, and captivated all who came near him; the Honesty of Heart, which made him the Delight of his Neighbours, gained him the Love and Confidence of the People. In a Variety of Stations and Circumstances his Mind was ever, like his Eye, calm, clear, and resolved. He saw through Things and Persons with great Sagacity, quite free from the Turbulence of Passion; and, let the Storm roar, or the Sunshine smile, he always kept steady to the Point in View. *Pausanias* sums up the Character of this uncommon Statesman in three Words; "He was honest, prudent, and brave."

His early Zeal for the MACEDONIAN Government had procured him the entire Confidence of that Court, and his Popularity at home enabled him to serve it. Every new Governor depended on him for the public Business, and the People for the Preservation of their Privileges. So happily, indeed, did he conduct, that all were pleased; ATHENS stood secure and unmolested in her Liberty, and her Arts improved and flourished, without the least Infringement on that Respect, which, as a dependant Kingdom, she owed to her Superior.

It may be easily imagined, that every honest and independant Person resorted to an Association conducted on such Principles, by such a Man; and the Union was necessarily strong, which
arose

arose from every Motive of private and public Welfare. On the other Hand, the Powers of DEMADES were entirely artificial; his Character (which I have already described, as confirmed by all the Historians of those Times) banished all Esteem and Confidence, and his Influence was, consequently, ever loose and fluctuating; the Cement which held his Followers was, from its Nature, liable to change from external Accidents, whilst the Virtue of NICIAS and his Cause was, like the Power of the Magnet, intrinsic, strong, and invariable. He gained daily Additions of the People's Affection; his private Character insured his public one, and his common Demeanor spoke plainly the Worth of both: And yet, great as his Reputation was, Fate had still in Reserve an Occasion for giving it a finishing Degree of Lustre.

While Things were in this Situation, a third Person made his Appearance at *Athens*, born, like a Meteor, to blaze and terrify for a while, and then expire in a Smoke. This was PHOCYON, surnamed PÆDERASTES, a Creature of the Family of NICANOR, who had first brought him into Notice, under the Disadvantages of low Birth, desperate Fortune, and Want of all Abilities, except Cunning and Address. By their Means, and the Aid of his Brother AULETES, who was in Favour with the *Macedonian* Minister, he rose rapidly to the highest Offices of the *Athenian* State: But neither these, nor the immense Revenues which came with them, were Food sufficient for his Ambition, which grasped at all, and formed the wild Project of ruling, at Discretion, the Affairs of that Kingdom. His Manners were effeminate and luxurious, and, being of the loose Sect of *Epicureans*, he possessed the sure Method to delight the Prodigals and

Debauchees of the Time, and, by enervating their Minds, to introduce, with more Ease, the Tenets of Slavery. This Plan he assiduously pursued among all young Men of Influence, especially among such as were Members of the *Prytaneum*.

NICANOR was now advanced to the Government of ATTICA, on the Plan concerted by CASSANDER, of fixing his Creatures in all Power, procuring a Majority among the *Prytanes*, and making the growing Opulence of this thriving State for ever subservient to him and his Associates. Something similar to this Scheme broke out, at the same Instant, in all the more distant Provinces, and shewed an Uniformity of Design that gave unspeakable Alarm. The Plan was thought to proceed from AULETES, encouraged, as far as *Attica* was concerned, by the sanguine Encouragements of PHOCYON, the enterprizing Zeal of young NICANDER, and the Assurances of Assistance made by DEMADES and his Friends.

The *Athenian* Genius seems, at this Period, to have been grossly mis-understood by these Projectors against its Peace. The Country had never felt an Attack of this Kind, as its Poverty had made it not much worthy of ministerial Notice, and the Probity and Power of NICIAS had ever crushed the Seeds of such Designs in their first Existence: But the public Coffers, which were now full, became a tempting Bait, and it was hoped that the Spirit of an untried People would be too impotent to contend with the Sanction of Authority. Either to Corruption or Terror, it was imagined, all must fall, and that a Consciousness of public Dependency would naturally

naturally beget a Proneness to Servitude in each Individual. They were armed, indeed, with all the Powers of affecting human Frailty, and, of Consequence, drew with them a Crowd of Followers; but, with the Bulk of the People, these were ineffectual; a Flame of Freedom, truly *Macedonian*, broke out at once, and spread to the remotest Corners of ATTICA: Each Man exhorted his Neighbour to stand up against Incroachments, and preserve his Posterity from the Fury of domestic Tyrants.

NICIAS, ever wise and cool, bore, with all Calmness, the repeated Marks of Dislike which NICANOR, from his first Entrance into Power, had testified toward him and the other Leaders of the *Athenian* Interest. The public Business was carried on by them with the usual Promptness; nay, a Moderation of Conduct was observed which became blameable, and hazarded their Popularity. *Lyfimachus*, though a Friend of PHOCYON'S, and convicted of embezzling the public Money given him to repair the Mole, was no farther censured than by an Order of Restitution; a Coolness of Temper ran through all their Proceedings, which, though it did Honour to their Principles, gave Spirit and Hopes to their Adversaries.

The Schemes of the Cabal were not yet ripe for Execution; the Meeting of the People was dismissed without any remarkable Incident beside a full Display of their Intentions. NICANOR had, in his first Speech, told them, that *the public Coffers were no longer theirs, and could be had Recourse to when they had Occasion to use them, merely by the special Grace of PHILIP, whose Property they now were.* A Doctrine like this needed

no Comment; it was perfectly consonant to the Men who were to support it, and left the People no Doubt that their dearest Rights were dangerously aimed at. None, indeed, but true *Bæotians* could mistake such Measures; the *Athenians* did not, nor were afraid to oppose them. NIKANOR returned to MACEDON to forward the Scheme by the Arts of Misrepresentation, while his Associates used every Iniquity to encrease their Powers against the next Convention. Public Spirit on the one Side, and abused Authority on the other, put forth their utmost Efforts, and all *Athens* trembled for the Event of the approaching Crisis.

In the mean Time, THEOPOMPUS, whose Honesty and Spirit naturally inclined him in his Country's Cause, saw, with Pain, its growing Calamities, and resolved to try, by one bold Effort, to check their Progress. Fearless of all Danger, he took a Journey to *Macedon*, and, with his own Hand, presented to *Philip*, amidst a Crowd of incensed Courtiers, a full and fair Account of the Measures pursued by NIKANOR. This noble Step had all the Effect that the Nature of it would admit; it roused that good Prince's Attention, and gave Weight to the subsequent Complaints of the People, while it raised, to the illustrious *Archon*, a Degree of Honour and Affection which could never fall but with the *Athenian* State.

The Rage of NIKANOR and his Friends at this Incident is not to be described. He returned to his Government full of Fury, preceded by a thundering Mandate, penned by the intoxicated NICANDER, to terrify the *Prytaneum* and People. Every Engine was now let loose
to

to fix the grand Design; every Man's Passions and Foibles were attempted; the Treasury was made a Fund for Corruption; for, however well ISARCHUS and PALLAS might have wished to the Country Interest, their Stations made them subservient to Authority, and the public Money fell unavoidably, in a great Measure, under the Regulation of those in Power. This is not the only Passage that *Diodorus* has mis-represented; for these Managers of the Treasury were so far from being free Agents, that they were obliged, by NICANDER's Means, to drain the Public of the current Coin, that his Friends might grow popular, by pretending to interpose in Behalf of the Sufferers. The good Intentions of PALLAS were, indeed, so far understood by PHOCYON, that he afterward attempted to ruin him at the *Macedonian* Court, under the Mask of the strictest Friendship; another Circumstance which the same Historian has omitted to tell us.

DEMADES and PHOCYON were now at the Summit of their Hopes; all Power, and its Variety of Advantages, was theirs; they judged of *Athenian* Virtue by their own, and were so secure of Conquest, that they encouraged the Propagation of Tenets, which ATTICA had never heard of since the Race of *Tyrants* was extinct. Each was, probably, by this Time, contriving how to rise upon the Ruins of the other, when, in fact, the common Enemy remained too strong for them both. The People were convened, and soon saw the Plan of Proceeding, from NICANOR's Repetition of the new-invented Claim against their Treasure. LYSIMACHUS's Affair was then canvassed; it appeared that he had been supported, in Opposition to the former Decree, by NICANOR, and that the Mole remained

mained unfinished. The Dignity of the *Prytaneum* was therefore justly asserted, and he was banished from that Assembly which he dishonoured, in Spite of the utmost Efforts of PHOCYON, and his Cabal, to uphold him in his Insolence and Fraud. This was a most unexpected Stroke, and, to add to their Mortification, was succeeded by a still more grievous one. A Decree, prepared by the People for paying the public Debt, was rejected by them on its Return from *Macedon*, not for having CASSANDER's Name subscribed to it, (as *Diodorus* has ridiculously asserted) but for being adulterated, by the Contrivance of AULETES, with a solemn Relinquishment of the People's Right in the Produce of the Taxes, for the present and for ever after. The Battle was hard fought; many of the *Prytanes* had yielded to Fear or Corruption; And yet, among the three hundred, there was found enough of *Athenian* Integrity to condemn the Decree by a Majority of six Beans. This remarkable Incident happened on the seventeenth of the Month *Ποσειδών*, a Day ever regarded in ATTICA as a great Anniversary of Deliverance.

It were vain to attempt a Description of the Rage and Disappointment which ensued among NICANOR's Associates on this decisive Blow. All their Scheme was dashed, in one Instant, to the Ground, and nothing left but universal Hatred and Contempt. The only Gratification that remained, was, to give a Loose to Revenge, and draw the Resentment of the *Macedonian* Court on NICIAS and his Friends. The Behaviour of this great Man, at this Crisis, was admired by all; the composed Decorum of his Appearance, his ingenuous Modesty, which shunned all Tribute of that popular Gratitude which

which yet he must have been pleased to deserve, all contributed to perfect his Reputation. The Joy among the People exceeded all that was ever known before; but it was a little allayed by the hard Fortune of their Protectors; for an Emissary was dispatched, a Bosom-Favourite of PHOCYON's, and quite fit for the Employment, to picture, at the *Macedonian* Court, this Stand for Liberty as an Effort of Disaffection. The Distance of *Athens* from the Seat of Empire, prevented all Relief; and AULETES soon procured an Order for dismissing NICIAS from his Offices of State, together with CALLISTHENES, (whom *Diodorus* calls ASTIUS) a Man whose Talents and Resolution made him very formidable. CRATERUS, the Brother of NICIAS, was also stripped of his Rank in the military; ISOCRATES of his Place among the *Τελωναι*, or Tax-gatherers; PELOPIDAS of his annual Stipend; as well as DEMOSTHENES of his Precedence among the Orators, or, rather of the superfluous Badges of his acknowledged Eminence.

Things thus conducted with so high an Hand, produced no other Effect than what Persecution ever must, in a free State. The Eyes of all were opened; the most doubtful were confirmed as to the Tendency of such Measures, and the most phlegmatic were roused to oppose them. The Sentiments of Liberty were boldly propagated, its Patrons publickly honoured, and their Statues crowned with civic Wreaths; whilst PHOCYON never shewed his Face but under a Load of Imprecations, and NICANDER trembled, but when hid amidst his Father's Life-Guard.

Among

Among the Friends of his Country at this Conjunction, EUMENES was one of the most distinguished: He was an *Archon* of the first Rank, and had married THEODORA, the Daughter of NICIAS, reckoned the most beautiful Woman of her Time, and of a most amiable Disposition. Humanity, Sense, and Spirit were EUMENES's leading Qualities, though, from an inherent Modesty, his Abilities never appeared in all their Advantage, until the Greatness of the Occasion called them into Action. He was now got above Reserve, and stood forth a ready and weighty Espouser of Liberty. EBORACUS and BION, two Judges, zealous in Behalf of Servitude, stood openly confuted by him in their Prostitution of the Laws. The first, indeed, was a *Bæotian*, and the latter lay open to the Severity of EUMENES's Satire, by his Rage against some public Reflections on PHOCYON, on Points wherein he was himself shrewdly suspected.

The Convention was now dismissed, for Fear of their just Indignation. NICANOR soon returned to *Macedon* from his fruitless and shameful Expedition. The Hopes of his Friends at *Athens* were, however, still kept alive while his Power continued, and all Means were prosecuted to fix their Point by the Corruption of the *Hereti*, and the Iniquity of the *αὐτὸς Βουλὴ*, who had Powers of great Consequence over the Magistracy of ATTICA. But all their Views were suddenly and providentially cut short by the Removal of *Nicanor*, and the Appointment of a Successor, in every Instance, his Reverse.

To turn back our Eyes, at this breathing Place, on the Variety of great Events which distracted the *Athenian* State for the Space of four Years, must fill us with a Vicissitude of strong Emotions: But a more pleasing View now demands our Attention. DEMETRIUS soon gratified the People's Impatience with his Presence, and visiting the remotest Parts of *ATICA*, won the Affection of all with his Sweetness and Condescension. The Chearfulness of his Countenance bespoke the Candor of his Heart, and the Conduct of every Day confirmed the public Happiness in his Administration. The known Worth and Abilities of CEPHISODORUS were also Circumstances highly pleasing. In short, every Thing promised a Return of happy Days, and a short Time made good the Expectation, in the Restoration of the Friends of *Athens* to the Favours of the *Macedonian* Court, and the Dismission of the infamous PHOCYON from the Countenance of Government.

The People now met again, and saw, with Joy, the Benignity of DEMETRIUS in his first Oration; where, instead of low Schemes against their Privileges and their Treasure, all was generous and public spirited, and the noblest Plan of Proceeding laid before them that the warmest *Athenian* could desire. The Effect was answerable; public Credit began to revive; the national Wealth was again the uncontroverted Property of those who raised it, and flowed, at their Appointment, through a Variety of Channels for their Use. The Friends of the Country resumed a Chearfulness they had long been Strangers to; and, under the Nicety of DEMETRIUS's impartial Conduct, found themselves
at

at Liberty to exert their constitutional Strength in the private Business of the *Prytaneum*, where DEMADES found how ineffectual his Years of Iniquity had proved against the Force of a virtuous Cause.

PHOCYON, who was shaken off by him with the greatest Ease, had now no Hope, but from sowing a Disunion among those whom he could not conquer: A Stratagem he had often try'd in vain, and now industriously repeated. Insinuations that the People were betray'd, were carefully propagated, and Propositions openly made in the *Prytaneum*, for abridging the King's Rights, by those who had been loud against the Liberties of the Country; these were intended to deceive the Vulgar with the Similarity of Sounds, and make them suspect their Protectors of Inconsistency from their refusing to run into these Extremities. But the Design was seen through, and fell with all the rest; the People had now a Demonstration of Characters and Views, which they could never forget; a Spirit was raised that *Athens* never knew before; and every Man saw his Rights, and the Necessity of preserving the Spirit which had supported them, with a Clearness that could not be deceived. In short, NICANOR's Administration had done signal Service to the Country, and fixed the popular Favour, the only true Source of Power in a free State, against DEMADES, PHOCYON, and their Associates for ever.

NICIAS, at this Period, seems to have arrived at the Height of human Felicity. He possessed a Degree of Glory which no Subject of *Athens*, or *Macedon*, ever enjoyed, and with it, the Heart felt Joy which results from Honesty,
and

and a Consciousness of being the Object of his Country's daily Praise and Blessings. His Age was vigorous, his Friends increasing, and his Character compleat.

From this chearful State of Things PHOCYON's dark Thoughts led him to seek for Relief in the selfish Pleasures of Privacy; he was ever encompassed with a Crowd of his Creatures, who put forth their respective Talents to indulge his Rancour, and sooth him with future Views of Success. Among these the foremost was ASOTUS, the *Cynic*, a Man remarkable for his Appetite and Effrontery: He had been expelled the public Schools for Misdemeanor, and finding Means to deceive the unsuspecting Good-nature of NICIAS, fed daily at his Table, 'till he was detected in betraying what he heard there to DEMADES and PHOCYON: With the latter he now remained, sending forth his Virulence in every Shape, to divert his Chagrin. With such Wretches did PHOCYON seek for Refuge from Reflection, and strive to find, in Adulation and Sensuality, that Enjoyment which had been deny'd to his Ambition.



END OF THE THIRD CHAPTER.

